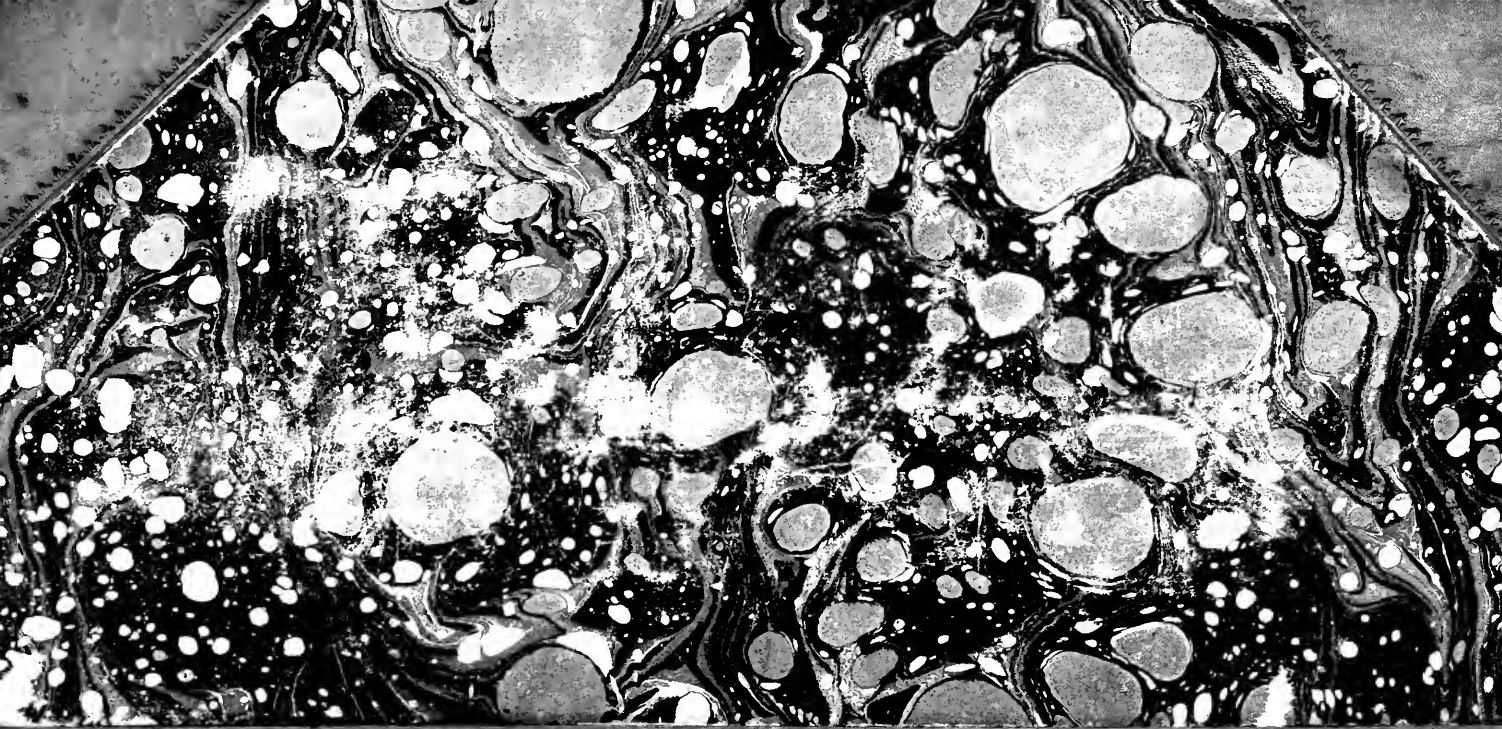

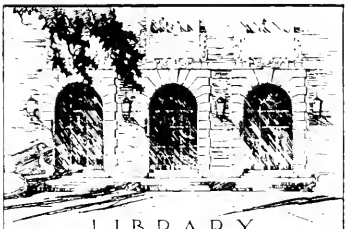

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THE SLAVE TRADE

OF

EAST AFRICA.

(REPRINTED FROM THE "CHRISTIAN OBSERVER.")

WITH AN APPENDIX.

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THE

SLAVE TRADE OF EAST AFRICA.

EXACTLY one hundred years have passed since Granville Sharpe gave to the world the result of his enquiries into the law of England on the toleration of slavery in this kingdom. The basis of this investigation was, it may be remembered, the opinion given in 1729, by the then Attorney and Solicitor-Generals, Yorke and Talbot, that a slave, by coming to England, did not become free, and might be legally compelled to return with his master to the plantations. Granville Sharpe, after a careful examination of the subject, concluded "that the sentiment of Lord Chief Justice Holt, that as soon as a negro comes into England he becomes free, might safely be preferred to all contrary opinions."

Soon afterwards, the action brought on behalf of the negro Somerset, afforded an opportunity of testing the correctness of this opinion, and for the establishment as a *rule* of law, of Lord Chief Justice Holt's now well-known sentiment.

Least prominent in the contest which led to this result, though its real mainspring, stands the figure of Granville Sharpe, the prosecutor, who, though poor and immersed in the duties of a toilsome daily occupation, supplied the money, the leisure, the perseverance, and the learning required for this great controversy, and yet had carefully concealed his own connection with it, fearful lest so humble a name should weaken a cause so momentous.

With no special education, and but little leisure, the Ordnance

clerk had, by unflinching industry and toil, proved himself on a par, if not superior, in one main branch of English law, to some of our most eminent judges of that period; such at least is the dictum of the late Sir James Stephen. One hundred years have passed away, a century marked by events as important as any that have transpired in the world's history, and among them no landmark stands out more conspicuously than the monument which records the history of the abolition of the Slave Trade. To Granville Sharpe belongs the honour of having first aroused in the English mind a sense of the enjoyment of a freedom so perfect, so ennobling, so gracious, as to cover and enfranchise all who share with Englishmen the privilege of treading English soil.

When, in the mercy of God to Africa, a few earnest men were found whose hearts bled for her wrongs, and whose hands were strong to redress those wrongs, foremost as leaders stood Granville Sharpe, Clarkson, and William Wilberforce. To the first was committed the presidency of the Society formed for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, and to Wilberforce was assigned the general superintendence and Parliamentary management of the cause. The century whose commencement we have marked has passed away, and we witness the result of these men's labours; truly they have laboured, and we have entered into their labours. They contemplated but the overthrow of a gigantic evil, the curse of Africa's sons; we see that curse removed, and in place of the slaver and the slave barracoon, we see, looking from the very spot where John Newton lamented his captivity in the service of Satan, a Freetown, many of whose inhabitants, once slaves, or the children of slaves, are now free men in Christ Jesus. Nay more; we see the Gospel carried into the old haunts of the slavers; and as the sailor makes for the bar of Lagos, that last haunt of the slave trade, his landmark for the harbour is the spire of an English church, one of three erected there by the Church Missionary Society. Still further on we find a native Christian church in Abeokuta, and at various places on the Niger, native churches, their spiritual father himself once a slave, now a bishop of our

own beloved Church. The century may well close with words taken from an evening paper which, writing in May last, pronounces the African slave trade to be a thing of the past, adding that the British cruiser is not the only obstacle to the trade, but the want of purchasers has rendered the trade useless and unprofitable, and never to be resuscitated.

It may be well, in directing the attention of our readers to the slave trade at present carried on with all the horrors of the old trade, upon the East Coast of Africa, to call to remembrance the circumstances under which the battle of the West Coast slave trade was fought and won. The disappointments and failures in that conflict may not be familiar to all, and many of our readers may be surprised to learn that twenty long years of labour and sorrow were consumed ere Mr. Wilberforce's efforts for the abolition of the slave trade were crowned with success. In 1789, he first proposed the abolition of the slave trade in the House of Commons, and it was not until April 1791, that the question was brought directly to an issue. The two years that had elapsed since his successful speech in 1789, had sufficed to change the current of popular feeling; and some indication of the temper of the time, and of the estimate formed by thinking men of the difficulties in Wilberforce's path, may be gathered from the following letter, penned by John Wesley on his dying bed. They are probably the last written words of that great servant of God :—

"My Dear Sir—Unless Divine power has raised you up to be as Athanasius *contra mundum*, I see not how you can go through your glorious enterprise in opposing that execrable villany which is the scandal of religion, of England, and of human nature. Unless God has raised you up for this very thing, you will be worn out by the opposition of men and devils. But if God be for you, who can be against you? Are all of them together stronger than God? Oh, be not weary in well-doing! Go on in the name of God, in the name of His might, till even American slavery, the vilest that ever saw the sun, shall vanish away before it. That He who has guided you from your youth up may continue to strengthen you in this and in all things, is the prayer of, dear Sir, your affectionate Servant,

"John Wesley."

The event justified these forebodings. Mr. Wilberforce's motion was lost by a large majority; even Mr. Pitt, with

whom he had concerted his first measure, avowing his opinion that it was wiser to await more tranquil times before the trade could be abolished. Again and again did Mr. Wilberforce return to the attack. His perseverance was at length rewarded, and the House of Commons for the first time passed a Bill, in 1794, for the immediate abolition of the trade. This Bill was lost in the House of Lords; and in succeeding Sessions Mr. Wilberforce laboured zealously, though ineffectually, to induce the House of Commons to resume the ground they had already occupied. Defeat followed defeat, and the contest, which had lasted for twelve years, seemed for a while to leave the advocates of slavery the masters of the field. In 1802, however, Mr. Wilberforce resumed his attempt, though under most discouraging circumstances. A second time did the Bill pass the Commons, only to be hung up in the Lords, and the question was adjourned to the following Session. The next effort was foiled; the House of Commons, in 1805, rejecting the Bill, inflicting upon Mr. Wilberforce distress and pain beyond that suffered on any previous defeat. But the impending change in the position of parties gave promise of hope. The Ministry of Mr. Fox had scarcely succeeded Mr. Pitt's Cabinet, when Bills were introduced into the Lords, and a Resolution carried in the Commons condemnatory of the trade; and finally, in 1807, the Bill was passed which condemned for ever the trade in slaves. Twenty-six years afterwards, the abolition of slavery in all British Dominions took place, and the example and influence of England soon secured from all European powers treaty-engagements by which trade in African slaves was declared to be piracy, and punishable as such. Under these treaties the African squadron was maintained, and mixed courts instituted at various ports around the African coast, for adjudging all cases of capture or seizure of vessels engaged in the trade. The watch maintained by the cruisers of the African squadron, and the energy and interest in the subject displayed by the late Lord Palmerston, have brought about the result we have adverted to, and true it is, so far as the West Coast of Africa is concerned, that the African Slave Trade is a thing of the past.

But while this happy result is chronicled concerning the old Atlantic Slave Trade, the annual reports of our Consul at Zanzibar, and the despatches of the naval officers in command of the few vessels which form the East African Squadron, tell a very different story. From these reports and despatches, which are annually presented to Parliament, we learn some particulars of the trade in slaves, carried on between the East African Coast and ports on the Persian Gulf, the Southern shores of Arabia and Persia, and the Red Sea. Dr. Livingstone, in his last work, "The Zambesi and its Tributaries," speaks, from his own personal observation, of the horrors and atrocities which accompany the slave raids made to supply this trade; and the late Bishop of Mauritius, at the request of the Committee, addressed a letter to the Earl of Chichester, as President of the Church Missionary Society, calling attention to the increasing extent of the trade, and urging the Society to take such measures as lay in their power to mitigate the evils and misery inflicted on that hapless land. Not unmindful of the claim that all Africa has on the Society, a claim indicated by its title, "The Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East," nor forgetting the link which binds the memory of its earlier days with the circle which gathered round Wilberforce, and with the contest in which he was the leader, the Committee have, we rejoice to learn, responded to the call, and we would venture to express our confidence and trust in the ultimate success of any cause undertaken in the calm prayerful spirit which guides the deliberations of the men who compose that Committee.

The measures decided upon by the Committee are twofold. They have endeavoured, first, to apply to the present circumstances of the trade some mitigating remedy; and secondly, by spreading information upon the subject, and by urging upon the Government, with such influence as the Society may possess, the adoption of measures for that purpose, to bring about the suppression and extinction of this nefarious traffic. Most gladly would we assist in this enterprise, and we therefore propose to lay before our readers a short account of the present

circumstances of this slave trade, with some notice of the remedial measures already adopted by the Church Missionary Society.

We are indebted for the information we propose to supply, to a pamphlet published by the Society, compiled from the official correspondence upon the East African Slave Trade, to a memorial recently presented by a deputation from the Society to the Duke of Argyll, as Secretary of State for India, and to the Parliamentary Blue Books of recent Sessions, on the Slave Trade.

It was in the year 1822 that the attention of the British Government was first called to the traffic in slaves carried on nominally between the African and Persian dominions of the Imaum of Muscat, but in reality between his African dominions and the very ports on the Red Sea and Persian Gulf to which the slaves are now carried. The dominions of the Imaum at that time comprised the petty state of Muscat, on the Southern shore of the Persian Gulf, and a large portion of the African coast, extending from Cape Delgado, at about 11 degrees South Latitude, to a port called Jubb, about 1 degree South of the Equator, including the large and important islands of Zanzibar, Pemba, and Monfia. The British Government, while declaring its intention of suppressing foreign slave trading, refused to meddle with slavery as a domestic institution, and accordingly, in the case of the Imaum of Muscat, determined to permit the slave trade between port and port in his own dominions; and a treaty to this effect was arranged between our Government and the Imaum. This treaty, dated 10th September, 1822, stipulates that the Imaum will abolish the trade in slaves between his dominions and every Christian country. By the treaty and a subsequent convention, authority to search and detain Muscat vessels was given to Her Majesty's ships, and the ships of war belonging to the East Indian Company; and by a further agreement, concluded between the Imaum of Muscat and Her Majesty the Queen, on the 2nd October, 1845, the Imaum agreed to prohibit, under the severest penalties, not only the export of slaves from his African dominions, but also the im-

portation of slaves from any part of Africa into his dominions in Asia. By that treaty permission is granted to our cruisers to seize and confiscate any vessels carrying on slave trade, except only such as are engaged in the transport of slaves from one port to another of the Imaum's African dominions, between the port of Lamoo and its dependencies in South Lat., 9° 58′, and the port of Kilwa and its dependencies in 9° 2′ South Lat., including the islands of Zanzibar, Pemba, and Monfia; thus limiting the traffic to the coastwise trade in the Imaum's African dominions; the effect of this limitation being nevertheless to continue a protection from our cruisers to the slavers, over about half their journey North.

Upon the death of the grandfather of the present Imaum (who is now in exile), his dominions were divided between his two sons, one retaining the Persian, and the other succeeding to the African territories, with the title of Sultan of Zanzibar. This division was not effected without strife, which at one time went the length of a threatened invasion of the Zanzibar territory by the Imaum, who had chartered for the occasion a fleet of "dhows," used for the purposes of the slave-trade. But the threatened invasion was summarily crushed by the appearance of a British squadron, which intimated in unmistakeable terms that England would permit no infringement of what she regarded as her sole prerogative in those waters. A truce was thereupon agreed to, and to a British officer was entrusted the task of preparing a treaty between the brothers, and settling the terms on which the division of territory should be made. The main article of the treaty was, that, in consideration of the superior wealth and extent of the African dominions claimed by the Sultan of Zanzibar, he should pay to his poorer brother, the Imaum, an annual subsidy of 40,000 crowns, equal to about £8,000 sterling.

Subsequent events have shown that the particular source whence this subsidy was to be drawn was the royalty derived by the Sultan from the slave-trade, of which he has the keys. We have been thus particular in detailing the connection between the saintly house of Muscat and the slave-trade, because,

although there are branches of the East Coast slave-trade wholly unconnected with either Zanzibar or Muscat, there can be no question that, since the decline of the Portuguese power, and the extinction of the American trade, the principal abettors of the trade have been the rulers of Muscat and Zanzibar. In former days, about twenty to twenty-five years ago, our cruisers used to seize slavers in the Mozambique Channel, bound for Cuba or South America, and the writer well remembers the arrival at the Cape of Good Hope of ship-loads of these poor creatures, who were liberated there, and apprenticed by the Government to such of the inhabitants as would undertake for five years the support and training of the boy or girl committed to their care. In place of this trade, now defunct, there is a small trade in slaves carried on with Madagascar and the French islands of Mayotta, Nos Bé, and Réunion ; the latter used to go under the name of the *free engagés* system—a name pronounced by Colonel Playfair, the late Consul at Zanzibar, to be but a synonym for the slave-trade.

We now come to the main division—the Northern Slave-trade—which is carried on entirely by Arabs, and the chief points between which it is pursued are from the mainland opposite and to the south of Zanzibar, to the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, and thence to the Red Sea and Persian Gulf. The "dhows" used in the trade are rapid sailers before a wind, and carry as many as 250 slaves. The season for making the run North is during the southerly monsoon, from January to July and August, and the traders avail themselves of the northerly monsoon to come down to Zanzibar to make their purchases. In dealing with the subject as it now is before us, we shall, we think, present it best to our readers by endeavouring first to follow the course of the "merchandize" from its first acquisition to its final deportation, and then to detail some particulars showing the extent and present results of the trade, and the efforts made for its suppression, calling attention, in concluding, to the remedial measures proposed by the Church Missionary Society.*

Let us, for our first purpose, accompany the slaving expe-

* See Appendix, Note A, p. 22.

dition of some successful hunter, probably an Arab sheikh, whose sacred writings inform him that all the African tribes south of the Somalis are proper subjects for his sword and his bow. Before starting on his exp dition, he obtains from some agent at Zanzibar the needful articles either for barter or murder and kidnapping—beads, common cotton cloth, muskets, and ammunition ; and the party starts for the interior, on what is now a long and toilsome march across a country once well cultivated and populous, but now desolated by the ravages of these marauders. The beads and cloth are used for paying their way during the early part of the journey, and for the purchase of ivory. According to Dr. Livingstone, these slaving parties seem to preserve their mercantile character for a large portion of the trip. They usually settle down with some chieftain and cultivate the soil, assisting him from time to time in raids against neighbouring tribes for the sake of the captives which their invariable success in these expeditions throws into their power. Either by this means, or by barter and purchase, the slave gang gradually accumulates; and we may form some conception of the value set on life by these traffickers in human flesh, by the price paid for the slave at his home, which we learn to be a few yards of cotton cloth, or, as the case may be, theft and murder. When the gang is sufficiently large to cover the terrible percentage of deaths due to the march down, and all preparations are completed, then commences the weary awful march to death or captivity. We have before us two records whence we can draw details of the atrocities perpetrated, during the march down, on these hapless "misérables." Both accounts are given by eye-witnesses. The first is Dr. Livingstone. In the work already mentioned, "The Zambesi and its Tributaries," is the following account of a slave party he met with in the valley of the Shiré :—

"The slave party, a long line of manacled men, women, and children, came wending their way round the hill and into the valley, on the side of which the village stood. The black drivers, armed with muskets, and bedecked with various articles of finery, marched jauntily in the front, middle, and rear of the line, some of them blowing exulting notes out of long tin horns. They seemed to feel

that they were doing a very noble thing, and might proudly march with an air of triumph. But the instant the fellows caught a glimpse of the English, they darted off like mad into the forest; so fast, indeed, that we caught but a glimpse of their red caps and the soles of their feet. The chief of the party alone remained, and he, from being in front, had his hand tightly grasped by a Makololo. He proved to be a well known slave of the late commandant at Tette, and for some time our own attendant while there. On asking him how he obtained these captives, he replied he had bought them; but on our enquiring of the people themselves, all save four said they had been captured in war. While this enquiry was going on, he bolted too.

"The captives knelt down, and, in their way of expressing thanks, clapped their hands with great energy. They were thus left entirely on our hands, and knives were soon busy at work cutting the women and children loose. It was more difficult to cut the men adrift, as each had his neck in the fork of a stout stick, six or seven feet long, and kept in by an iron rod which was riveted at both ends across the throat. With a saw, luckily in the Bishop's baggage, one by one the men were sawn out into freedom. The women, on being told to take the meal they were carrying, and cook breakfast for themselves and the children, seemed to consider the news too good to be true: but, after a little coaxing, went at it with alacrity, and made a capital fire by which to boil their pots, with the slave sticks and bonds, their old acquaintances through many a sad night and weary day. Many were mere children, about five years of age and under. One little boy, with the simplicity of childhood, said to our men, 'The others tied and starved us; you cut the ropes and tell us to eat. What sort of people are you? Where did you come from?' Two of the women had been shot the day before, for attempting to untie the thongs. This, the rest were told, was to prevent them attempting to escape. One woman had her infant's brains knocked out, because she could not carry her load and it; and a man was despatched with an axe, because he had broken down with fatigue."

Our next witness is Reuten, one of the party of eight Sepoys sent from Bombay with Dr. Livingstone, who, overcome with terror, deserted the traveller in the interior, and joined themselves to the slave gang of one Suleiman, an Arab chief. After accompanying them to the coast, the Sepoys found their way to Zanzibar, and the following is the deposition of the Sepoy, made to Mr. Seward, the British Consul there. He says:—

"We left Mataka with the slave-caravan of one Suleiman, an Arab. His band numbered 300 slaves, besides porters and servants, but there were many other smaller bands varying in number; altogether there started about 900. It seemed one great regiment.

"The slaves were yoked together in line, with forked sticks, their hands bound; women and children were simply bound.*

"We set out at daylight, and pitched camp at about 3 o'clock in the afternoon.

"The slaves were compelled to sleep either in rows, head to head, under a central bar, to which the ends of their forked sticks were lashed; or they were arranged in groups of from five to ten, in such a manner that their sticks could all be brought together in the middle of the group and lashed.

"They had to sleep upon their backs, their wrists bound before them, helpless and unable to move.

"They were fed once a day with boiled jowarree and water.

"They were cheap: an adult cost two yards of common cotton cloth, a child one yard.

"They were urged forward on the march like cattle, beaten about the face and head. We witnessed many murders—many deaths; and the path was strewn with the bodies of those who had been killed.

"When we passed up with Dr. Livingstone, the road stunk with the way-side corpses; it was so again when we passed down.

"Every day we came upon the dead, and certainly we witnessed not less than a hundred deaths.

"Men were either killed by the club, or the dagger, or strangled.

"I with my own eyes (Reuten says) saw six men (at different times) choked to death: the victims were forced to sit leaning against a tree; a strip of bark or a thong was looped around the stem of the tree, pulled taut from behind, and the slave strangled.

"I saw not less than fifteen slaves clubbed to death by heavy blows between the eyes (which bespattered their faces with blood) or upon the head.

"Children were felled in this way, and put out of life by repeated blows on the head.

"I have seen a porter in mercy carry a sick slave,† but some who were so thin and worn that they could not walk, and whose death was certain, were tossed aside into the bush.

"Others who had been so mercilessly beaten that but little life remained in them, were unyoked, and with a kick and an oath thrown aside to take their chances in the wilderness.

"An infant, not long born, was torn from its mother's breast, and pitched screaming into the bush. She was dragged relentlessly along.

"These things were done by the servants of the Arab owners, but always by the Arab's order. One Arab was very cruel. We saw his cruel nature in his face.

"The large and valuable tusks were not carried by the slaves,

* "2446 slaves have reached Zanzibar since the 11th of October, date of Sepoy's arrival; it is now the 24th of October."—See Cover of Livingstone's Book.

† N.B.—Possibly one of some promise as a speculation.

they were borne along by porters or servants of the Arabs; the small tusks, so light that they could easily be carried in one hand, were carried by a few, not all, of the slaves."

"The Naigue of the Sepoys gave much the same account as Reuten, but he declares to more numerous murders. In addition to the club and the noose, he saw the dagger used to despatch victims who either could not or would not move along with the caravan."

"These atrocities," says Mr. Seward, "occurred after the gang began their march: but what of the crimes that waited upon their original capture?"

We have now accompanied the "merchandize" to the coast. We may think the worst is over. Many gangs, no doubt, are taken at once to Quiloa, and there sold; but many also have to await a favourable chance for shipment, so as to elude the Zanzibar market, and be smuggled off at once to their destination; and for these poor wretches are reserved the horrors of the slave barracoon. Again we have an eye-witness to relate to us details of the sickening scene. Monsieur Ménon, of the island of Réunion, who was formerly engaged in promoting what he calls African emigration to the French colonies, describes the following scene on the river Lindie, on the Eastern coast:—

"An Arab chief told us he had, in the forest at some leagues' distance, a depôt of 800 men, whom he would bring to us the next day. I asked the chief to conduct us to his depôt, and at first he stubbornly refused. But when I promised him a rifle musket, which he eagerly desired to get, he consented and led us thither. After three hours' march we arrived, but could see nothing. 'Where are they lodged?' we asked; and he pointed to a palisade of bamboo, open to the sky, where they were exposed, at the worst season of the year, to a fiery sun, alternating with torrents of rain and sometimes of hail, without any roof to cover them.

"A man of tall stature, with his spear in his hand and a poignard in his belt, pulled up three posts which served for a gate to this enclosure, and we entered. There they were, naked as on the day of their birth; some of them with a long fork attached to their neck —that is, a heavy branch of a tree (*une grossière branche d'arbre*) of fork-like shape—so arranged that it was impossible for them to step forward, the heavy handle of the fork, which they could not lift, effectually preventing them from advancing, because of the pressure on the throat; others were chained together in parcels (*paquets*) of twenty." The word which I underline is a trivial one, but it exactly expresses the idea. The keeper of this den utters a hoarse cry

(*pousse un rugissement*); it is the order for the merchandize to stand up; but many of them do not obey. What is the matter? Our interpreter, who has gone among the groups, will tell us: listen to him. 'The chains are too short; the dead and the dying prevent the living from rising. The dead can say nothing; but what do the dying say? They say that they are dying—of hunger.'

"But let us leave the consideration of this trader's picture as a whole; and let us look at some of the details. Who is this creature who holds tightly in her arms a shapeless object covered with filthy leaves? On looking close, you see that it is a woman, lying in the mud, and holding to her dried up breast the child of which she has just been delivered. And those little girls who totter as they strive to rise, and who seem to ask for pity, on what are they leaning? On a dead body! And this man who is working with his hands a piece of mud, which he is continually placing on his eye, what is the matter with him? Our guide tells us, 'He is a troublesome fellow, who set a bad example by throwing himself at my feet this morning, and saying with a loud voice, I am dying of hunger; and I gave him a blow which burst his eye; he is henceforth good for nothing;' and he added with a sinister look, 'He wont be hungry long.'"

To the question addressed to the Arab chief, why he dealt thus with the men, his reply was, "I do as my father did before me."

We pass on from the consideration of such revolting scenes, to watch the future destiny of the unhappy slaves when brought down to the coast.

The port of Quiloa, or Kilwa, which we have mentioned, lies about 150 miles south of the island of Zanzibar, and is the great mainland mart or emporium where thousands are exposed for sale, and whence they are shipped for Zanzibar. The cost of the slave purchased at Kilwa is about five dollars. Some attempt is there made to register the number exported for Zanzibar, by means of port clearances furnished by the authorities to the slavers; and it is from these registers that we are enabled to calculate the yearly consumption of slaves. To this part of our subject we shall presently return.

On arrival at Zanzibar, the majority of the slaves pass into the slave market. Many are at once consigned to their Arab purchasers, who have come down from Arabia with the northerly monsoon, and have hired houses for the reception of their pur-

chases. For every slave thus brought to Zanzibar, the Sultan receives a royalty of two dollars, and it is therefore manifest that for any assistance he may offer in the suppression of the trade, he expects, as the lawyers say, "a valuable consideration."

We again turn to the testimony of Dr. Livingstone; and at this time, when there is so much uncertainty as to the safety of our great traveller, the mind naturally recurs to the state of suspense almost hopeless, save for the firm opinion expressed by Sir R. Murchison, which followed on the report of his death given by the Johanna men at Zanzibar. Great was the rejoicing at the tidings of his safety, and hearty were the congratulations offered to their president by the members of the Geographical Society at the meeting at which Dr. Livingstone's letter announcing his safety was read. While all who spoke claimed him as the great geographer, the African explorer, the undaunted traveller, there was one present who, having himself, with Livingstone, witnessed some of the horrors of the East African Slave-trade, endeavoured to impress upon the fashionable and learned assembly, that Livingstone had other objects in view beside the mere solution of geographical problems—that he was a true philanthropist, and that one of the causes nearest to his heart was the suffering oppressed slave. The appeal fell on ears geographical, geological, and polite, but unsympathising, and it was evident that the harmony of the evening was not to be marred by the mention of so uncomfortable and unscientific a subject as the woes of the slave. However interesting Africa's land and lakes and rivers may be to the man of science, the condition of Africa's sons seems to appeal only to a few unenlightened enthusiasts, whose hopes and prayers and efforts form fit subject for scoff and sneer. But the friend of the slave was the truest exponent of Livingstone's character and views; and it is deeply interesting to see the traveller, as we may picture him to ourselves, sitting down in Lat. 11° 18′ South, Long. 37° 10′ East, to write a long report, dated 11th June, 1866, to the Earl of Clarendon on the slave-trade. Again, writing from Lake Nyassa in the following

month of August, he returns to the subject, and makes suggestions for the suppression of the trade; and again, in a letter dated 1st February, 1867, written from Bembo, about 500 miles from the spot where he penned his first report, he devotes the greater part of his space to the slave-trade, and concludes with a regret that the geographical notes must be so scanty.

With this digression, the object of which was mainly to enhance the value of Dr. Livingstone's testimony on the subject, we return to the island of Zanzibar and its slave mart, to which point we have followed the slave. "This," says Dr. Livingstone, (in the report dated 11th June, 1866, received on the 18th April, 1868), "is now almost the only spot in the world where 100 to 300 slaves are daily exposed for sale in open market. This disgraceful scene I several times personally witnessed, and the purchasers were Arabs or Persians, whose dhows lay anchored in the harbour, and these men were daily at their occupation examining the teeth, gait, and limbs of the slaves, as openly as horse dealers engage in their business in England."

The thought may here occur to many of our readers, possibly unfamiliar with the subject, "This may all be true, but is it not a small insignificant trade you are describing—an annual caravan of perhaps 300 or 400 slaves?" A few words on the present extent and results of the trade will, we regret to say, reveal a very different state of things. We have stated that Quiloa, or Kilwa, is the principal mainland export harbour, and that here proper clearances are furnished to the slavers. In a letter dated Zanzibar, 4th March, 1868, Consul Churchill states that for the five years terminating September, 1867, there had been exported from Quiloa 97,253 registered slaves. He states also, that from 3000 to 4000 annually are smuggled from various parts of the mainland; so that we may swell the above total to about 115,000 slaves, in five years, who have reached the coast, and have been shipped for Zanzibar, Arabia, and other places. Nor is this enormous total the measure of the misery and sin which accompanies the trade. Let us again recur to the statement of the Indian Sepoy. He says, "When we passed up with Dr. Livingstone, the wayside stunk with corpses; it was

so when we passed down again;" and out of the 300 slaves who started on that fearful march, 100 were left murdered on the bloody track. Dr. Livingstone, in Chap. xix. of the "Zambesi and its Tributaries," says,—

"Would that we could give a comprehensive account of the horrors of the Slave-trade, with an approximation to the number of lives it yearly destroys: for we feel sure that, were even half the truth told and recognised, the feelings of men would be so thoroughly roused, that this devilish traffic in human flesh would be put down at all risks; but neither we, nor any one else, have the statistics necessary for a work of this kind. Let us state what we know of one portion of Africa, and then every reader who believes our tale can apply the ratio of the known misery to find out the unknown. Let it not be supposed for an instant, that those taken out of the country represent all the victims; they are but a very small section of the sufferers. Besides those actually captured, thousands are killed and die of their wounds and famine, driven from their villages by the slave raid; thousands in internecine war waged for slaves with their own clansmen and neighbours, slain by the lust of gain, which is stimulated by the slave purchasers. The many skeletons we have seen amongst rocks and woods, by the little pools, and along the paths of the wilderness, attest the awful sacrifice of human life which must be attributed, directly or indirectly, to this trade of hell. We would ask our countrymen to believe us when we say, as we conscientiously can, that it is our deliberate opinion, from what we know and have seen, that not one-fifth of the victims of the slave-trade ever become slaves. Taking the Shiré valley as an average, we should say, not even one-tenth arrive at their destination."

Again, in his report to Lord Clarendon, dated the 20th August, 1866, he speaks of "a tract of very fine, well-watered, but depopulated country, which took us eight days' hard marching to cross":—

"It was about 100 miles broad, and so long, there was no possibility of going round either end. It bore all the marks of having been densely peopled at some former period. The ridges in which the natives plant grain and beans were everywhere visible; and from the number of calcined clay pipes used in furnaces, it is evident that they worked extensively in iron. The country was very beautiful, mountainous, well-wooded, and watered. I counted in one day's march fifteen running burns, though it was the dry season, and some were from four to ten yards broad. The sound of gushing water, though not associated in our minds with Africa, became quite familiar. It was too cold to bathe in with pleasure, the elevation above the sea being between 3000 and 4000 feet.

"The process of depopulation to which I have adverted goes on annually. The coast Arabs from Kilwa come up with plenty of ammunition and calico to the tribe called Waigan or Ajawa, and say that they want slaves. Maraunding parties immediately start off to the Manganja or Wanyassa villages, and, having plenty of powder and guns, overpower and bring back the chief portion of the inhabitants. Those who escape usually die of starvation. This process is identical with that of which we formerly saw so much in the lands of the Portuguese in the Shiré valley. I cannot write about it without a painful apprehension that to persons at a distance I must appear guilty of exaggeration. But I beg your Lordship to remember, whenever my statements have been tested on the spot, they have been found within, not beyond, the truth. Even the grand Victoria sales were put down at less than half their size."

We have been told by General Rigby, formerly Consul at Zanzibar, that the old slaves still living there state that their homes were in the country bordering on the sea; while now the slave hunter has to penetrate for 400 or 500 miles into the interior, through a country once populous and fertile, but now a waste, ere he can secure the victims for his traffic. We leave our readers to form their own conclusions as to the awful sacrifice of human life caused by the Slave-trade on the East Coast of Africa, and proceed to answer the question which must naturally occur to every one,—"Has nothing been done by our Government to put a stop to this miserable traffic?"

Within the last ten years, more attention has been given by our authorities to the subject; and, in addition to the watch maintained by our small squadron, various measures have been urged upon the Sultan, the adoption of which, it was thought, would materially aid the efforts of our cruisers. But it is a fact, that as yet no palpable check has been placed on the trade. The reason assigned by Dr. Livingstone for this failure is the treaty protection afforded by us over the first and most difficult half of the sea voyage, under the policy to which expression was given by Lord Russell, in a despatch dated 14th March, 1864. In that despatch he says, that Her Majesty's Government do not claim the right to interfere in the status of domestic slavery in Zanzibar, nor with the *bonâ fide* transport of slaves from one portion of the Sultan's territory to another, so long as this latter traffic shall not be made a cloak

to cover the foreign Slave-trade. The limits of this article prevent our giving at length the arguments adduced by Dr. Livingstone and Mr. Churchill for a reconsideration of the policy of our Government in this matter,—they are to be found in the pamphlet published by the Church Missionary Society;*—it will be sufficient for our purpose to say, that they point out the absurdity of supposing that an export trade of 20,000 slaves annually is needed to maintain the status of domestic slavery in Zanzibar and the Sultan's African dominions; and concur in suggesting either that the Sultan be urged to surrender the protected trade entirely, or to consent to a gradual reduction of the number of slaves to be brought into Zanzibar to a minimum of 4000; at the same time granting our cruisers such a right of search as would practically blockade the whole of these waters, save a small limit over which the vessels of Zanzibar, furnished with proper clearances from Kilwa, might carry the slaves required for the island of Zanzibar. The Sultan, personally, is supposed to be anxious to check and suppress the trade; and, when urged to relinquish his treaty right of carrying slaves, has expressed his willingness to do so, provided our Government will, in return, refrain from compelling him to pay the subsidy which it was arranged should be paid to Muscat, on the partition of the dominions of the old Imaum. Apart from the question of the relinquishment of the treaty rights, the Sultan prays to be released from this payment, giving as his reason that it was contrary to all principles of right that he should continue to pay a subsidy to a parricide and usurper; his brother, with whom the compact was made, having been foully murdered by his son, who usurped his throne. So strongly does the Sultan appear to have felt this, that he sent an embassy to England to obtain from our Government a release from the hateful subsidy. The presence of these envoys afforded an opportunity, which was seized by the Church Missionary Society, of approaching the Government; and as the matter was within the purview of the India Office, a memo-

* See Appendix, Note F, p. 30.

rial was presented to His Grace the Duke of Argyll, setting forth shortly some of the main facts connected with the trade, and urging that the presence of the envoys afforded an opportunity, that should not be lost, of obtaining from the Sultan a virtual abandonment of the protected slave-trade. The deputation was kindly received by His Grace, who, from his answer, seemed to think that the condition attached by the Sultan to the concession, viz., the release from the subsidy, so complicated the question, as to render it impossible to answer the memorial of the Society until the Indian Government had been consulted. He expressed a hope that, in the meantime, the arrangements which were pending between the Admiralty and the India Office would place the East African Squadron on a more efficient footing.

We now come to the last division of our subject, the measures by which the Society hope, in some degree, to alleviate the curse brought on East Africa, and to turn that curse into a blessing. The annual returns from the East Coast Squadron show that they capture every year a varying number of slaves ranging from 1000 to 1800. These poor creatures are liberated at the nearest British port to the point of capture; and accordingly cargoes of these poor creatures, many of them children, are landed at Aden, Bombay, Mauritius, and the Seychelles Islands. The pamphlet from which we have so largely drawn, in order to point its argument in favour of a Christian settlement on or near the East Coast of Africa, to which these liberated slaves may be brought, sketches shortly the history of the Missions of the Society to West Africa, showing how the settlement of Sierra Leone, formerly only the depôt for the liberated slave, has become a Christian capital, and the centre of light for that part of Africa; and proceeds:—

"The practical conclusion to which we now come is, that the efforts of our own Government to suppress the East Coast Slave Trade afford an opportunity for the evangelization of portions of the East Coast tribes similar to that so successfully embraced by the Church Missionary and other Missionary Societies at Sierra Leone; and with hopes of similar success, provided only that a Sierra Leone can be formed on the East Coast. This is a most important point,

for without some such central depôt no combined missionary effort can be made."

After balancing the advantages and difficulties presented by such localities as Zanzibar, Mauritius, Mombas, Aden, and the Seychelles Islands, the latter are pronounced most suited to the scheme proposed by the Society; which is to commence a Mission, principally of an educational character, among the liberated slaves, now or hereafter to be brought to those islands, taking charge of the children, supporting and educating them, as is still done, with the help of the Government, in the Liberated African Schools at Sierra Leone, at the Powder Mills Asylum in Mauritius, and at the African Institution at Nassick in Bombay. From letters recently received by the Society from their missionaries at Mauritius, and from the Bishop of Mauritius, we learn that there are now at the Island of Mahé, one of the Seychelles group, no less than 2000 liberated slaves, and that there are in the market several small estates suitable for the establishment of a training school, which may become self-supporting, and where the lads may be instructed in the trades and handicrafts so necessary to the development of civilized life. For further details of the scheme, we again refer our readers to the pamphlet.*

Thus, practically, the Church Missionary Society seems called upon to undertake a new Mission, and already it has responded to the call by transferring to the Seychelles from the Kisulidini Station of the Society on the East African coast, one of its missionaries whose ill-health had rendered a change necessary. While we would congratulate the Committee on its ready response to the call "Come over and help us," and concur most heartily in the scheme they have in view, we hope they will not relax their efforts to obtain from the Government such measures as shall lead to a complete abandonment of this curse of East Africa, and pave the way for the restoration, to their own wasted and depopulated though fertile country, of a people who, under the teaching of the Society, will be not only educated in agriculture and the useful arts, but "instructed unto the

* See Appendix, Note C, p. 31.

kingdom of heaven." But to the accomplishment of this end many will be the obstacles; nor must the Society falter or swerve from its path at the opposition they must encounter. We beg them to remember the inheritance which has descended to them from the men who fought and won the old fight. And here the words of Sir James Stephen seem to us so encouraging, and conceived in a spirit so appropriate to that in which the present contest, inferior though it may be in magnitude to the battle of the old slave trade, should be commenced and maintained, that we cannot do better than close this article by quoting them at length:—

"In later days agitation for the accomplishment of great political objects has taken a place among social arts. But sixty years since, it was among the inventions slumbering in the womb of time, taught by no professors, and illustrated by no examples. We have lived to see many of the most ancient and solid edifices, erected by the wisdom of our ancestors, totter at the blast of leagues, associations, speeches, reports, and editorial articles, like the towers of Jericho falling before the rams' horns of Joshua. But when Mr. Wilberforce and his friends met to deliberate on their enterprise, the contrast between the magnitude of their design and the poverty of their resources demanded a faith scarcely inferior to that which encouraged the invaders of Palestine to assault with the sound of their trumpets the towers built up by the children of Anak to the heavens. Truth, indeed, and justice were on their side; and in the flower of his youth, his eloquence, and his fame, Mr. Pitt had given the bright augury of his adhesion to their cause. But, after twenty years of ceaseless controversy had rolled away, the most sanguine of them was constrained to 'stand in awe of the powers of falsehood' and of commercial cupidity, and to acknowledge that, in effecting so great a deliverance, God would not employ the rulers nor the mere rhetoricians of the world, but would use, as His instruments, His own devoted servants—men able to touch in the bosoms of others the sacred springs of action which were working in their own."

APPENDIX.

Note A.

Extract from Pamphlet on the Slave Trade of East Africa, published by the Church Missionary Society in 1868.

Having thus examined the present condition and circumstances of the East Coast Slave-trade, and the reasons assignable for its existence, let us proceed to the consideration of some means which may be adopted in mitigation of the evils brought on Africa by that trade, or, as suggested by the Bishop of Mauritius, the employment by Christian charity of the same means on the East Coast as have been so successful on the West, in bringing good out of the evil of slavery. The conditions of the inland slave trade on the East Coast are now precisely the same as those of the old West Coast traffic once were; and although the same responsibility and condemnation may not rest on England with regard to the East as pressed so heavily on her with regard to the West, yet the call upon Christian England's sympathy and help is as urgent and pressing from the East as it was from the West Coast of that unhappy land. If the Christianity of England cannot at once put a stop, either by treaty or armed force, to the infamous traffic, it can yet use for the East Coast the same means as have been so signally blessed for the elevation of the African race at Sierra Leone and other West Coast stations. The history of Mission work at Sierra Leone is the lesson whose results must guide any similar attempt on the East Coast. As an abstract proposition, it cannot be denied that the diffusion of light and knowledge, and instruction in agriculture, and enterprise and commerce, will put an end to the traffic in slaves anywhere; but the question to be considered is, how to begin. Notwithstanding the general familiarity with the history of the colony of Sierra Leone, it may be useful to embody in this paper a few of the salient points of that history, whose conditions find an analogy in the past and present circumstances of the East Coast. And, first, we find a common point in the fact that discovery and travel were closely followed by missionary enterprise. No sooner was the West Coast at all opened up, than missionary enterprise was attracted to the Guinea Coast and the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone, and between 1768 and 1798 fifteen Missionaries were sent out, of whom but one returned home. In 1804 the first Missionaries of the Church Missionary

Society sailed for the Rio Pongas, and subsequently to the Bulloms, a tribe near Sierra Leone. Eleven years passed away, and seven of the ten Missionaries lay in their early graves, and but slight encouragements were manifested. Churches, schools, and mission stores were destroyed by fire, and our Missionaries were at last compelled to take refuge in Sierra Leone. If any lesson had been learned, it was this, that European Missionaries could not, save under exceptionally favourable conditions, endure the pestilential climate of that West Coast; and that, instead of wasting their energies upon comparatively few and savage tribes along the coast, it would be better and wiser to take advantage of the means almost ready to hand for meeting the negro under more favourable conditions, and from among them to raise up a native agency. The records of the East Coast teach the same lesson. There, too, have Missionaries been sent forth in the track of travel, but without results. The history of the Central Africa Mission is but a record of death succeeding death; and even our own Mission at Kisuludini, with the devoted Rebmann labouring at his post, what has it effected? How many can we point to as brought even within the civilizing effects of the Gospel? If we find the parallel to the condition of missionary effort prior to 1816 on the West Coast, in the present condition and results of similar efforts on the East Coast, let us continue the parallel, with God's help, and reproduce on the East, by the use of similar means, those happy results which are manifest on the West Coast. On the West Coast, the Missionaries having failed to make any marked impression by their labours, had been driven into Sierra Leone, at that time a colony, which, from being at first a settlement for freed negroes, in 1808 became a depôt for negroes released by British cruisers, and had, in 1811, a rapidly increasing population of 4500, of whom 2500 were liberated slaves.

In 1816 the Rev. E. Bickersteth visited Africa; and, having spent many months upon the coast, returned to consult with the Committee of the Church Missionary Society on the measures to be adopted. The result was, that a suggestion of Sir C. M'Carthy, Governor of Sierra Leone in 1814, was acted upon. Instead of wasting their energies upon a few inconsiderable tribes of savages along the coast, they resolved to concentrate them upon the colony itself, with its increasing population of liberated negroes, gathered from upwards of 100 different tribes in various parts of Africa, speaking widely-distinct languages. Were Sierra Leone to become a centre of light, and these representatives of so many nations to receive the Gospel, how widely would it be diffused over the vast continent when they should return to their several homes, so many Christian evangelists, speaking in 100 different tongues the wonderful works of God. To avail themselves of the wide means of usefulness thus providentially prepared for them (through the very Slave Trade which seemed an unmitigated curse), they felt to be a bounden duty.

Our Missionaries were accordingly located in Sierra Leone in 1816. According to a plan formed by Governor M'Carthy, the whole colony

was divided into parishes, and Missionaries provided for each parish in the colony. A Christian Institution on Leicester Mountain was maintained as an industrial school for both sexes, and schoolmasters and catechists scattered over the villages. Every effort was made to rescue the poor degraded savages, transferred to their care from the holds of slave ships, from the deep bondage of ignorance and sin in which they were sunk.

Without dwelling upon further details of the history of Sierra Leone under Missionary efforts, we may point to its present condition as a proof, that not only had the anticipation of the Christian men who first resolved on applying the Gospel as the cure for all Africa's woes been realized by the event, but their wisdom in selecting the depôt at Sierra Leone for the scene of their efforts fully proved; for not only has the Slave Trade, formerly so great a curse to Africa, been overruled to become eventually a blessing, but it has been the means of furnishing that country with a supply of native evangelists, who, but for this, might never have existed. It has supplied Africa with Christians of various nations, who could not but for this have been gathered together into one place, and received the truth at one time.

The labourers of the Society were providentially directed to Sierra Leone. Had they not been frustrated in their efforts, and almost driven into the colony, they might to this day have been labouring among a few obscure tribes, in the extreme West Coast, without any probability of influencing the surrounding country, still less of penetrating into the heart of the continent. The failure of their Missions among the Susus and Bulloms, and their concentration of effort at Sierra Leone, was most mercifully and wisely ordered for the benefit of the whole of Africa. Had they been settled in some populous town in the very centre of the continent, their vantage ground for future operations would not have been a thousandth part so effective, as in this corner of the Western shore. From this outlying colony the sound of England's name and England's religion has already gone forth far into the interior of the continent. Dr. Livingstone records, that amongst some even of the newly discovered countries on the Zambesi, England was favourably known as the friend of the black races.

The most interesting features of this Church's history of late years are the rise of a Native Pastorate, and the development of the principle of self-support in the Native Church. Since the ordination of the first African clergyman connected with the Mission, the Rev. Samuel Crowther, the number of Native Ministers has steadily increased. They are now seventeen in number, and in time will doubtless increase to the full extent of the wants of the Native Church.

As the Mission Churches increased in efficiency, their thoughts turned to Missions in the regions beyond. The study of the Native languages was encouraged. In 1840, a Mission was commenced amongst the Timnehs, to the North-East of the colony. In 1845, a

Mission was sent to the Yoruba country. A chief town, Abeokuta, was occupied, and the Gospel has since radiated from thence to many of the large towns in the surrounding district. In 1857, a Niger Mission was established, conducted wholly by native African clergymen and laymen, themselves the fruit of the Missionary labours of a past generation; and it is now under the care of Bishop Crowther, the first Native Bishop of the West African Church, a Missionary of no ordinary ability, a living wonder to those who once so vauntingly denied the capability of elevating the native African races, and would fain have extinguished the zeal of their Christian friends in England.

The practical conclusion to which we now come is, that the efforts of our own Government to suppress the East Coast Slave Trade afford an opportunity for the evangelization of portions of the East Coast tribes, similar to that so successfully embraced by the Church Missionary and other Missionary Societies at Sierra Leone, and with hopes of similar success, provided only that a Sierra Leone can be reproduced upon the East Coast. This is a most important point, for without some such depôt, possessing the advantages of Sierra Leone, no combined Missionary effort can be made. Although our proper labours as a Missionary Society would be sufficiently employed in teaching and preaching to the heathen negro wherever we may find him, yet the work should in this case, if possible, be initiated under conditions which point to the destruction of Slave Trade as the result of their own development. Dr. Livingstone observes the moral degradation which an indulgence in the traffic produces in those tribes who collect slaves for the dealers: and, on the other hand, we may lay it down as a truth, that the spread among or in the vicinity of those tribes of an intelligent industry, and an acquaintance with the higher standards of civilization, must aid in repressing their tendency to engage in this traffic.

Now, to bring these things to bear, what so effectual as the presence among those tribes of a native agency, instructed not only as to the principles of civilization, but teachers of Gospel truth. It therefore seems a condition necessary to the success of the suggested scheme, that the spot chosen for its commencement should be sufficiently near the scenes of the inland Slave Trade to permit an influence for good to radiate among the slave-collecting tribes, and at the same time command a sufficient extent of territory to utilize to the utmost the labour stored up in such a settlement. A settlement so placed might, in the course of a few years, become a self-supporting organized community, such as may be found at the Church Missionary station at Metlahkatlah, on the shores of the North Pacific Ocean, where the Red Indians of North-west America have been taught the advantages of union for the purpose of self-government and the remunerativeness of combined labour; and the whole fabric, based on the teaching of the Gospel, seems now to be crowned with the best blessings of the Gospel of Peace. These

principles seem in theory to govern the selection of any place where the experiment could be tried; but there are other practical facts which must bear their full share in the matter. In the first place, such a settlement must be protected until able to protect itself; and what power can grant this protection? Assuming for the moment that, upon the principle of going as near the root of the evil as possible, the Island of Zanzibar itself, or the adjoining mainland, were selected, what protection could such a settlement expect from the government of Zanzibar? Willing as the present ruler may be, can he control his people? A nation of Mohammedans, who regard slavery as lawful and expressly sanctioned, could they be expected willingly to stand by and see free labour existing as a perpetual condemnation of their domestic slavery? Or, supposing some place selected further removed from the Island of Zanzibar, the thought instantly occurs, Who is to protect such a settlement from the slave-raids of the Arab dealers? It is to be feared that any such settlement might fall an easy prey to the force they might bring on such an expedition.

It seems impossible to hope for a secure shelter on any but British territory for a settlement of free negroes; and we question the probability of our Government, even were it considered advisable, being able to obtain any territory where the experiment could be tried. Thus, then, we appear to be driven from Zanzibar and the mainland, and compelled to abandon our governing principles for the shelter of the British flag. There now only remain islands removed to some distance from the coast, where, though abandoning the hope of organizing a community whose example should teach the surrounding tribes the more desirable results of civilization, yet nevertheless the Church Missionary Society would have the opportunity of training up a native agency, both pastoral and lay, who might, among their own tribes, form the nuclei of many such communities. Of these islands may be named, as British territory, Mauritius and the Seychelles; the latter, lying in 3° South Latitude and 130° West Longitude, form a cluster of five or six small islands, which are British territory, and are governed by Mauritius. To these islands many liberated slaves are now taken by our cruisers; and unfortunately, there being no sufficient supervision or control, much immorality has been the result, and the Government have been urged not to liberate any more negroes there. The Bishop of Mauritius is, however, very strongly in favour of the Seychelles being selected. There remains the Island of Mauritius, which, however, is too far removed from the cruising grounds of our East Coast squadron to be available as the regular depôt. No doubt many objections may be urged against the Seychelles, but others equally strong may be urged against any other place; and therefore, while the trade lasts, and our cruisers capture slavers and liberate slaves, the Seychelles Islands seem to be the most suitable depôt; and after a careful consideration of the subject, it does seem that no place would be so suitable for commencing the experiment.

But while the necessity of thus facing the evil seems laid upon the Church Missionary Society, and a new field of labour opens up, calling for fresh exertion, for a new Mission, we are compelled to appeal to the friends of Missions in our Church for the funds necessary to the proper support of our vast existing agency. Let the answer be, How can the Church Missionary Society be silent to the cry from East Africa? If this cry has reached us, dare we stop our ears to it? Shall we cease to go forward? Shall we not rather, in the assurance that if God has called us to the work He will find the instruments and the means ready to hand, resolve to undertake a new Mission to the Eastern tribes of that Africa whose Western shores have witnessed the rise and establishment of a Church, many of whose members, once ransomed from the grasp of the slaver, are now free men in Christ Jesus.

We now come to the final division of our subject—the consideration of the ultimate remedy and final suppression of the Trade; and here we can do no more than urge measures, the adoption of which will, in the opinion of the best authorities, first suppress, and finally extinguish, the foreign Slave Trade. It is easily gathered from the official documents we have quoted, that the protected Slave Trade is carried on to a much greater extent than the status of domestic slavery in the Sultan's own dominions requires. And again, we have the statement of Mr. Frere, that if the Sultan would limit the importation of slaves to the actual requirements of his three islands, Zanzibar, Pemba, and Monfia, the Northern trade would be finally stopped. It would seem, perhaps, an extreme measure, but yet a safe one, if this concession were granted, to name certain ports between which alone the trade would be protected; as, for instance, within Zanzibar territory, Quiloa on the mainland, and Zanzibar, Pemba, and Monfia; and to grant to our cruisers the right of search over any vessels found outside the limits necessary for this passage. This, combined with a proper system of passes issued at Quiloa, would very soon put down the foreign Slave Trade, if a squadron sufficient to maintain an effective blockade were provided.

That some such, or even a stronger, measure was contemplated by our Government, appears from the despatch of Lord Russell, dated 14th March 1864. He says that it is the determination of Her Majesty's Government to suppress the foreign Slave Trade, and that, with this object, Colonel Pelly had been instructed to propose to the Sultan a Treaty engagement, to be incorporated with the existing Treaty, which should altogether prohibit the transport of slaves coastwise from one portion of his dominions to another. The despatch, however, instructs Colonel Playfair (Colonel Pelly's successor) not to insist upon this new engagement if the measures adopted by the Sultan against the Northern Slave-trade were carried out in good faith, but adds, "You will not lose sight of this subject; and you will, should an opportunity offer, endeavour to induce His Highness to embody this concession in

the existing Treaty for the suppression of Slave Trade." We have seen that no measure hitherto adopted has succeeded in even checking the East Coast Slave Trade, and we think that the time has come when our Government should bestir itself in this matter, and call upon the Sultan of Zanzibar to enter into such other engagements as may be deemed requisite for the complete suppression of the traffic, a result which the experience of twenty-two years has shown the existing Treaty to be utterly inadequate to effect.

Note B.

Extracts from Dr. Livingstone's Report on the East African Slave Trade, dated East Africa, Lat. 11° 18′ *S., Long.* 37° 10′ *E., June* 11, 1866.

"I devoted part of the time of my detention at the Island of Zanzibar to a careful and earnest study of our political relations with the Sultan, and to a minute investigation of the causes which have prevented those parts of Eastern Africa, subject to Arab influences, from reaping the same advantages, by the policy of Her Majesty's Government against the Slave Trade, which have been realized in large portions of Western Africa inhabited by less promising races of people.

"The reasons assigned for the continuance of this very unsatisfactory state of affairs derive their force and speciousness partly from political considerations, and partly from forebodings of the evils involved in change, though that change might be for the better. A bright hope too, that, by the slow and steady influence of trade and imported civilization, the Arabs may be led to change their ways, gilds the whole subject.

"Among the political considerations are specified, that these Northern Arab slave-traders are lawless pirates, whom the Sultan, however willing, cannot coerce. His power in the Island of Zanzibar is very limited, and on the coast line of the adjacent continent he possesses but a mere shadow of power. In fact, to the Arabs he represents that leader only who first guided them down the East coast for conquest. They acknowledge him as their Chief (Syed), but not their Sultan; and since the present occupant of the Chieftainship has been separated from those possessions in Asia whence his father, the old Imaum of Muscat, drew all his military power, Syed Majid, the son, can muster no force to control either the Zanzibar or the Northern Arab slave-traders. His utter powerlessness to with-

stand the slaving propensities of the pirates and kidnappers, who annually infest his island and seas, has been thus forcibly, though hypothetically expressed. Should the Sultan attempt the abolition of the Slave Trade in his dominions, so intimately linked is that traffic with the whole system of slavery in which he is placed, the proclamation would ensure a revolution, his own expulsion, or even death.

"In judging of the weight due to these and similar assertions, it must be never left out of view for a moment that Syed Majid is the creature of English power alone. . . . . He resembles one of the Indian protected princes, but destitute of any organized force by land or sea, which his political Resident might wield for his or his subjects' benefit.

"Our treaty with the Sultan's father furnishes a more important consideration than anything else. This treaty allowed the Slave Trade to be carried on within certain specified limits, and for the avowed object of permitting supplies of labour to be carried to the more southerly territories of the late Imaum. This concession of a limited use of the Slave Trade was no doubt made in the hope that, at some no very distant date the way would be paved for the complete cessation of the trade in slaves. It certainly never was contemplated by either of the contracting parties that a special stipulation for a small and well-defined remission of the traffic should be made, as now it is made, the means of erecting the Island of Zanzibar into a great slave emporium, and extending the ocean Slave Trade to the Red Sea and Persian Gulf. Still, though our object in the Treaty has been perverted, and we have been practically over-reached, Treaty obligations ought to be respected till that alteration is made in the stipulations which the present aspect of the ocean Slave Trade throughout the world demands.

Extract from Letter of Dr. Livingstone to the Earl of Clarendon, dated Lake Nyassa, August 20, 1866.

"I would earnestly recommend that His Highness the Sultan be pressed so to alter the Treaty with his late father as to cancel our permission of a limited Slave Trade.

"This alteration cannot fairly be called injurious to the status of slavery in the Island of Zanzibar. It is a sheer absurdity to imagine that the reigning family imports 3000 slaves annually for domestic purposes, and that the inhabitants generally import 12,000 for similar purposes. They are all intended for exportation to the North; and the coast towns, Kilwa, Mombas, &c., receive far more slaves from the interior than they ever make use of for cultivation.

"To render the measure I have ventured to propose efficient, an

English man-of-war should always be present in the harbour of Zanzibar during the visits of the Northern Arabs; and, during the months when the dhows are known to run slaves, the force usually stationed on their route should have a depôt in their vicinity, so that after a single capture the cruiser may not, as usually happens, be obliged to retire and land the slaves at the most important crisis for action."

Mr. Consul Churchill to the Chief Secretary to Government, Bombay; dated Zanzibar, August 14, 1867.

After referring to Earl Russell's instructions to Colonel Playfair in 1864, not to lose sight of the importance of the Sultan entering into a Treaty engagement to prohibit the transport of slaves coastwise from one portion of his dominions to another, and also to the failure of the Sultan's prohibition of the transport of slaves between 1st January and 30th April, he says:—

"It became evident that the time had come for Earl Russell's instructions to be pressed on the Sultan for his acceptance.

"In my conversations with the Sultan, and with his Chief Secretary, Sheikh Suliman, I made a point of making His Highness understand the necessity of proving to Her Majesty's Government his earnestness to co-operate with us; and I did not fail to make him see that, sooner or later, the transport of slaves coastwise would have to be prohibited.

"I told His Highness that Her Majesty's Government did not claim the right of interference in the status of domestic slavery in his dominions; but that if domestic slavery was his sole object, I looked upon the liberty his subjects enjoyed, in virtue of Treaty, of carrying slaves from one end of his dominions on the coast to the other, as totally incommensurate with the object in view, inasmuch as his subjects could procure enough slaves from the coast opposite Zanzibar to supply the agricultural wants of the island; and therefore, if he was sincere in his assurances of friendship and fellow-feeling with us, he could not refuse to reduce the limits within which the transport of slaves for domestic purposes would be permitted; and I pointed out to him on the map Rasydege, in South Latitude 7°, as the Southern, and Mombas, in Latitude 4°, as the Northern limit, between which points he might have the privilege of transporting slaves without interference, provided he agreed to abandon the rest.

"His Highness did not appear surprised at the magnitude of my demand, comprising as it does three-fifths of his seaboard. He appeared to have been quite prepared for this demand; and he promised to assemble his Court Council, and bring his reply in person to Her Majesty's Consulate in two days.

"For precision's sake I have caused the Sultan's declaration to be

put down in writing; and I have the honour to transmit it herewith enclosed, in translation, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor in Council.

"The importance of the Sultan's concession His Excellency will readily appreciate when I repeat Captain Pasley's words, that it is the most complete check to the Slave Trade that will have been effected since Her Majesty's Government began to suppress it."

The Sultan of Zanzibar to Mr. Churchill.

(*Translation*).

"In the name of God. You have asked of us, in the name of Her Majesty's Government, the reduction of the limits allowed us by the Treaty between the British Government and our father the Imaum, within which we are at liberty to carry slaves, so that the limits within which we shall be enabled to transport slaves in future by sea shall be comprised between Cape Dege and Matepa, including the islands of Pemba, Zanzibar, and Chewley, with permission to Her Majesty's cruisers to seize any vessel on the shores of Pemba that may be found there without a pass or colours, and that may have slaves on board without permission, and having seized it, to bring it to you at Zanzibar for adjudication; and provided also that, Chewley being beyond Cape Dege, special vessels be appointed to carry thereto the slaves the island may require for itself, with this understanding that Her Majesty's cruisers shall cease to molest or interfere with the shipping of our subjects within the said limits.

"We have, in consequence, assembled the members of our Council, and have acquainted them with your request. They were all of one accord in saying that your proposition would prove very detrimental to our Government in many ways which it would be too long to enumerate; but that, nevertheless, it was incumbent on us to satisfy the British Government.

"But we also have something to ask of the British Government which will cost them nothing to grant us; and that is, we be allowed to avenge on Salim the murder of our brother: and if this be found difficult to allow, we beg of the Government that we be no longer asked to pay the subsidy, or any of the claims forwarded to us, for our own claims in Oman are greater than those put forward against us in Zanzibar. Be this known. Written on the 13th Rebbi ussame, 1284.

"From your friend Majid-bin-Said. In the Sultan's own handwriting.

"If the exalted Government accepts the wishes you have expressed to us, and those we have ourselves expressed, and they be pleased with them, we will either add them to the original Treaty, or sign a new one, just as they please."

Note C.

Extract from the Minutes of the Committee of the Church Missionary Society, dated March 3, 1868.

"The subject of measures to be adopted for the protection and education of the slaves liberated by British cruisers was considered, and it appeared that at present they are very insufficient, and it is desirable that the Society should undertake an Educational Mission at some place on or near the East Coast of Africa. That, under the political circumstances of East Africa, and looking to the support of the Government, any scheme for this purpose must be carried out on British territory, and that no place was so suitable as the Seychelles Islands. That there the Society might have a Central Educational Establishment which might, to a certain extent, be self-supporting, and be in connexion with the depôts to be formed by the Government at Zanzibar and Aden."

At the commencement of the year the Committee requested the Rev. Stephen Hobbs, the Secretary of the Mauritius Mission, to proceed to the Seychelles Islands, to make enquiries as to the suitability of the place for the establishment of an institution for the liberated Africans, and to report thereon.

Mr. Hobbs, in conversation with Mr. Ward, the Civil Commissioner, explained to him the system pursued by the Society in Sierra Leone, but gave him to understand that the Society would attempt nothing more than a school at present, at the Seychelles, leaving operations of a more complex nature until circumstances led naturally to their adoption. Mr. Ward said he could safely promise to send all little children who may arrive to such a school, as they are distributed without charge to all who apply for them and promise to take care of them.

Both Mr. Ward and Dr. Brooks expressed an opinion that the Society would do wisely in adopting Mahé as the basis of their work, rather than a station on the East Coast of Africa, both on account of the advantage of getting trained teachers speaking many dialects instead of only one; and also, more especially, because of the perfect salubrity of these islands. Sickness and mortality are there at a minimum rate, so that a Missionary, of sound health at first, might reasonably hope to continue his labours for years without interruption. Dr. Brooks is the only medical practitioner in the Dependency, and no other seems to be required. The temperature at the beginning of the cool season is very agreeable. At other times the heat is severe, but all seasons are considered to be equally healthy. Sufferers from fever going there from Mauritius for change are, almost without exception, speedily and completely cured.

Mr. Hobbs reports, that a Mission here, judiciously conducted,

would be very inexpensive. The expense of boarding for school children might be made very light from the beginning, and after a short time reduced almost to *nil*. There is no necessity to give *rice*, which the Indians in Mauritius require, and which is a very heavy expense, being all imported. At Mahé, the rations served out to labourers consist almost exclusively of maize, manioc, and other productions of the country, which can be produced in any quantity, if sufficient land be secured, and a few adult labourers kept for its cultivation. The school children should be trained from the first to assist, and soon might do all the work that has to be done.

Letter of Swinburne Ward, Esq., H. M. Commissioner for the Seychelles Islands, to Rev. S. Hobbs, dated Government House, Seychelles, May 22, 1869.

"Sir,—According to your desire, I beg to offer the following remarks upon Slave Trade upon the East African Coast, and its connection with these Islands. . . . . .

"From what I have heard respecting the East Coast, there appears to be no spot at which it would be either desirable or practicable that an establishment for the regeneration and education of captured Africans could be set on foot. These Islands present every advantage with respect to proximity, climate, and power of control; and should the Society determine upon trying the experiment here, I think that it would be eminently successful. I need not say that, so far as lies in my power, I shall be happy to afford every assistance.

"It is, of course, impossible to give any idea of the number of slaves likely to be brought here, but I cannot look forward to any reduction in the number of captured dhows. More have been taken by our cruisers during the past twelve months than in any previous year, partly owing to the withdrawal of the whole East African squadron during the Abyssinian war, having left the whole coast open to the Arabs, and partly owing to the limited number of ships in the squadron—a quite inadequate number for the proper protection of the coast, and for anything approaching to the suppression of the Slave Trade. On an average, four dhows out of five run their cargoes successfully, so that, judging by the numerous captures, the amount of slaves exported to Arabia and Persia must be very large indeed. During the past five months 451 slaves have been brought here by H.M. ships 'Daphne' and 'Nymphe,' and a considerable quantity have been taken to Aden.

"The above remarks, however, only refer to the main question of Slave Trade on the East Coast generally, and I have offered them only with a view to show the Society that, in all probability, very many more Africans will be brought to these Islands, and that any arrangements made for their culture and amelioration will be most benefi-

cial. I cannot foresee any difficulty with respect to such arrangements, beyond time and money, the usual essentials. With funds there will be no difficulty in purchasing a property in this island, which will perfectly answer the desired purpose. This property, if properly looked after, will pay itself, so that no loss can accrue to the Society. Land in Seychelles, however, is almost daily increasing in value, more especially land situated within a reasonable distance of the Harbour and Town.

"I have pointed out these matters for the consideration of the Society, in order to show that not only may we expect large numbers of liberated Africans at almost any moment, but that, if any arrangements are going to be made, it would be advisable to make them with as little delay as possible on economical grounds, so far as the acquisition of land is concerned.—I remain, &c.,

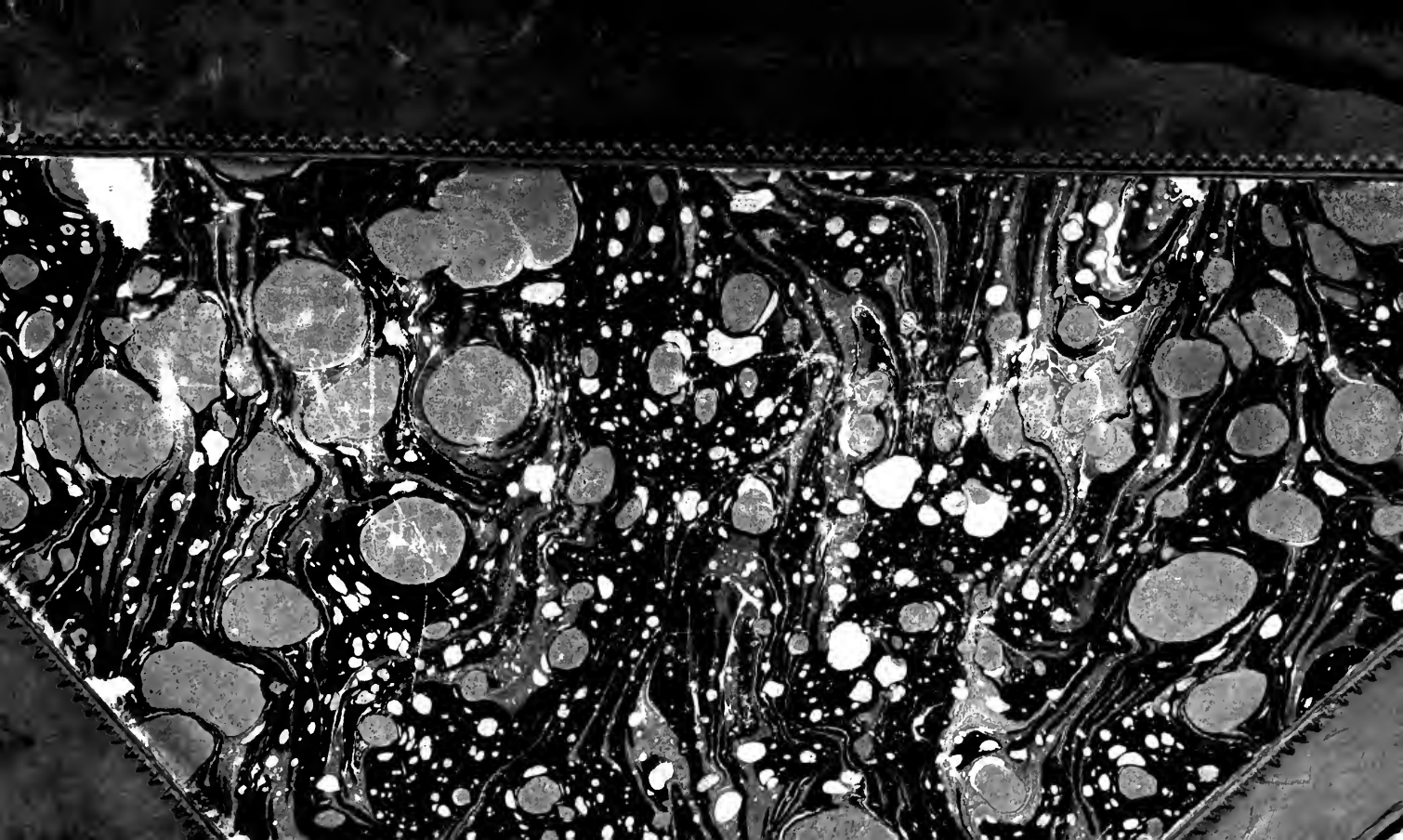
"SWINBURNE WARD."

Extracts from Letter of Governor Sir Henry Barkly to Rev. S. Hobbs, dated Government House, Mauritius, 16th July, 1869.

"MY DEAR MR. HOBBS,—I return the letter you left for me. . . . . With regard to assistance . . . . this Government would do anything in its power, as to a grant, &c.; and if a school were started, it would, of course, be entitled to the usual grant-in-aid.

"As respects the scope for trained labour in this island, it is, as you know, practically unlimited, though of late Indian labourers have been very much preferred by the planters to such Africans as were brought here. I may, however, mention that one gentleman has applied for a permission to bring down from Aden by the mail steamers some of the slaves who have been just liberated there from the dhows captured by the 'Daphne' and 'Nymphe.' Since these captures I learn from Mr. Ward that the former vessel has landed 52 more rescued slaves at Mahé, who were in his hands when he wrote.

"You will thus see that an ample field is likely to be presented for the benevolent efforts of the Society.—Believe me, &c.,

"HENRY BARKLY."

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